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Comparing Temporary Mobility with Permanent Migration

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Abstract

In contrast with developing countries, where the study of circulation occupies a central position, the literature on temporary mobility in the developed world is sparse and unsystematic. This paper examines reasons for this fragmentation and endeavours to situate tourism within the wider context of temporary and permanent population movements. It is suggested that temporary moves have three distinctive dimensions – duration, frequency and seasonality – which present a formidable methodological challenge. Despite this, it is argued that both forms of movement can be usefully classified under production-related and consumption-related headings. Against this framework we explore similarities and differences in the intensity, composition and spatial patterns of temporary and permanent moves using data from the Australian population Census. The findings point to processes of complementarity and substitution which underline the inter-connectedness of different forms of mobility at the individual and aggregate levels across space and through time.

Keywords: temporary mobility, permanent migration, Australia

As the papers in this issue have sought to demonstrate, close functional linkages are often to be found between tourist flows and permanent migration. Tourism represents one form of circulation, or temporary population movement. Temporary movements and permanent migration, in turn, form part of the same continuum of population mobility in time and space. In practice, however, the literatures on these two forms of movement have developed almost entirely in isolation. Moreover, research on temporary mobility itself, at least within developed countries, has been highly fragmented. Most empirical work has focused on particular types of movement in specific spatial settings. Allied to this has been an almost exclusive reliance on ideographic datasets and small-scale surveys (McHugh *et al.* 1995). The strength of this strategy is that data collection can be tailored to the specific research agenda and measurement issues associated with temporary mobility. Its limitation is that the results lack generality. What has been missing, as a consequence, is any sense of the overall structure and dimensions of circular population movement.

This paper endeavours to situate tourism flows within the wider context of temporary population mobility and to explore some of the conceptual links and substantive differences between temporary and permanent movements. We begin by reviewing the scope and foundations of research on the two forms of mobility and identify a series of distinctive features which present a methodological challenge to the study of temporary movements. Next, we propose a common classificatory framework which forms the basis for a typology of temporary and permanent moves. Notwithstanding their inherent differences, we suggest that five key questions commonly asked in regard to permanent migration are equally pertinent in the context of temporary moves. These are briefly explored and comparisons drawn between the two forms of movement using data from the 1996 Australian Census. The paper concludes with some observations on the links between permanent and temporary mobility and echoes the call for greater integration in future research.

Research on temporary mobility

Temporary mobility is perhaps most readily defined as the complement of permanent migration: that is, as

any form of territorial movement which does not represent a permanent, or lasting, change of usual residence. The significance of such moves has long been recognized (Wolfe 1966; Roseman 1971; Rothman *et al.* 1977). In his seminal 'Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition', Zelinsky (1971) drew attention to the significance of circulatory movements for social visits, farming and religious observance in pre-modern and early transitional societies, and anticipated a massive rise in the incidence and complexity of temporary moves with the onset of modernization. Further increases were fore-shadowed in 'advanced' societies, driven especially by non-economic motives and giving rise to elaborate circuits within the urban network, as circulation came to substitute for permanent migration, itself perhaps eventually to be replaced by telecommunications.

Zelinsky's thesis has been criticized as timebound and Eurocentric (Cadwallader 1993; Woods 1993; Zelinsky 1993). Paradoxically, however, it is in developing countries that the importance of circulation has been most clearly recognized and its study has come to occupy centre stage (Bedford 1973; Chapman and Prothero 1983; Prothero and Chapman 1984). In the developed world, by contrast, while the past three decades have seen a burgeoning of systematic work on permanent migration, research on temporary mobility has been sparse and fragmented. This is not to say that circulatory moves have been entirely overlooked. The literature on tourist flows represents perhaps the largest single body of research but other forms of temporary movement have also attracted attention. Examples include seasonal migration among the elderly (Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Longino and Marshall 1990; McHugh and Mings 1991, 1992; Pollard 1996; Mings 1997), weekly and long distance commuting (Houghton 1993; Green *et al.* 1999; Jansson 1999), second home ownership (Roseman 1985; Flognfeldt 1999) and attendance at conferences and conventions (Zelinsky 1994). The common thread that links this disparate literature is a shared concern with the spatial and temporal dynamics of human population movement. What have hindered its integration are the multidimensional nature of temporary population mobility, deficiencies in data and the absence of a coherent theoretical framework.

These problems are intimately related. Progress in the understanding of population movements, as in all branches of science, requires the inter-dependent development of data, theory and method. In the case of permanent migration, research has been well served by the development of high quality, purpose-built collections, such as Census questions on place of current and previous residence. Analytical tools have reached a high level of sophistication (Rees *et al.* in press), allowing the testing and refinement of theory to the point where the scope of available data is again emerging as a key obstacle to further progress (Bell 1996). In contrast, data on temporary moves have generally been drawn either as by-products from other statistical collections or from purpose-built surveys attuned to the specific types of movement or locality being studied. In the absence of any consistent approach to data collection, methods of analysis have been rudimentary and theory remains embryonic. Ironically, it may be this very culture of reliance on large, readily available datasets that has constrained the development of research on temporary mobility in western countries, and the corresponding dearth of such information, necessitating more flexible approaches to data collection, that has led to earlier recognition of circulatory movements in the developing world. Nevertheless, compared with permanent migration, the study of temporary mobility poses a significant conceptual and methodological challenge.

Conceptual and measurement issues

The complexities that attend analysis of circular mobility derive directly from its transitory nature and the associated difficulties of measurement. Compared with permanent migration, temporary mobility has a number of distinctive features (Table 1). First, while migration is generally conceived as a single transition, involving a lasting relocation to a new residence, temporary moves are repetitive events of variable duration. Absences from home may last from a few hours, in the case of local diurnal trips, to days, weeks or even months, in the case of seasonal travel. Moreover the frequency of such moves, and their periodicity, is highly variable. On the one hand are circulatory movements which involve regular cyclic schedules, ranging from the daily journey to work, school or college of most urban residents, through the rising tide of weekly commuter trips to more distant work locations (often as a substitute for migration), and the four- to six-week work cycles now commonly used to service remote mining sites, to the weekend trips of second home owners and seasonal 'migrations' of the elderly who each year trace familiar paths to converge on their favourite sunbelt destinations. On the other hand are the occasional weekend excursions and annual holiday travel, business trips and conferences which involve more sporadic patterns of movement in time and space.

A second point of contrast is found in the seasonal pattern of temporary moves. While permanent migration occurs more or less evenly throughout the year (Smith 1989, 1994), many forms of temporary movement involve marked seasonal peaks and troughs. Holiday travel is the obvious example, with tourist movements concentrated at weekends, public holidays and peak vacation times, but other forms of

temporary movement, such as conferences and conventions, also have a seasonal focus. Academic meetings, for example, are commonly scheduled to coincide with semester breaks.

Table 1. Comparing permanent migration with temporary mobility: key concepts and dimensions

	Type of movement	
	Permanent migration	Temporary mobility
Definition	Permanent change of usual residence	Non-permanent move of varying duration
Key concepts		
▪ <i>Usual residence</i>	Integral concept	Less centrality
▪ <i>Return</i>	No intention to return	May involve a return 'home'
Key dimensions		
▪ <i>Duration</i>	Lasting relocation	Varying duration of stay
▪ <i>Frequency</i>	Single transition	Generally a repetitive event
▪ <i>Seasonality</i>	Minor seasonal variation	Large seasonal variation

The significance of these seasonal variations lies not only in their effect on the overall intensity, or volume, of temporary mobility but in the resulting spatial patterns. Temporary moves, like permanent migration, result in the redistribution of population from one region to another. In the case of temporary moves, however, the shifts are ephemeral rather than cumulative. Differences in the seasonal pattern of different types of circular move therefore generate striking spatial variations in population distribution over the course of the year. A common example is the diurnal rise and fall of population numbers in the central cities, triggered by the ebb and flow of commuters from dormitory suburbs. But similar patterns emerge in tourist destinations. In Australia, for example, peak visitation to holiday resorts in the tropical north occurs in the southern winter, whereas local beauty spots in the southern states receive the bulk of their visitors in the summer months. The apparent spatial impact of temporary movements therefore depends crucially on the timing of measurement (Bell and Ward 1998a).

Measuring and modelling these three dimensions of circulatory movement – their duration, frequency and seasonality – poses a significant challenge. But another complicating feature is that the very notion of 'usual residence', which is integral to the definition of permanent migration, has less centrality in the context of circulation. Indeed, this definition tends to obscure some forms of recurrent mobility. Temporary movement implies a return 'home' but, as Behr and Guber (1982) point out, an increasing proportion of the population simply have no usual residence. In addition to the growing number of homeless, increased marital break-down has seen a rapid rise in the number of children living in bipolar families who alternate between the homes of estranged parents. In a similar vein, seasonal workers, such as fruit-pickers and shearers, typically follow a fixed, annual circuit in pursuit of the ripening crop and, like Australia's indigenous population, tend to inhabit 'not so much a residence as a network of places' (Taylor and Bell 1996).

Population movements occur in two dimensions, space and time, and are typically classified by reference to standard temporal and spatial boundaries (Figure 1). Thus, permanent migration is generally differentiated from temporary mobility on the time dimension and further classified according to the types of administrative boundaries which are crossed. While these divisions are statistically convenient, they impose a rigidity which seldom conforms with underlying differences in mobility behaviour. In the temporal domain, the distinction between diurnal and overnight moves is a useful one because, as Smith (1989) points out, the latter involve more seasonal variability and impose quite different demands at the destination. At the other end of the time scale, however, few migrations are genuinely 'permanent'. In Australia, for example, people change residence, on average, around a dozen times over the course of their lives (Bell 1996) but durations of stay vary widely and there is a significant group who move repeatedly (Newbold and Bell in press). These chronic moves, many of which represent returns to an earlier residence, are simply not captured in conventional migration measures but conceptually they resemble the temporary moves described above, simply writ on a different time scale.

In the spatial dimension, by contrast, segmentation according to administrative boundaries appears less problematic for permanent moves than for temporary mobility. While the way that space is divided for statistical collections rarely has any functional basis, the distinction between intraurban and inter-regional moves does reflect a broad differentiation of motives commonly recognized in the migration literature: the former linked to housing adjustment, the latter a response to economic imperatives. Temporary moves, on

the other hand, do not fit so neatly inside the partitions created by segmenting the space-time graph. Many forms of temporary move extend over more than one partition, although at varying strengths; none occupy exclusive domains; and some partitions are sparsely 'populated' (Bell and Ward 1998a). The space-time matrix therefore consists of a sequence of intersecting and overlapping layers, of varying intensity and spatial extent, each representing a different form of mobility behaviour. These in turn combine to generate a mobility 'surface', the morphology of which is constantly in flux, undulating over an annual cycle and evolving progressively over time.

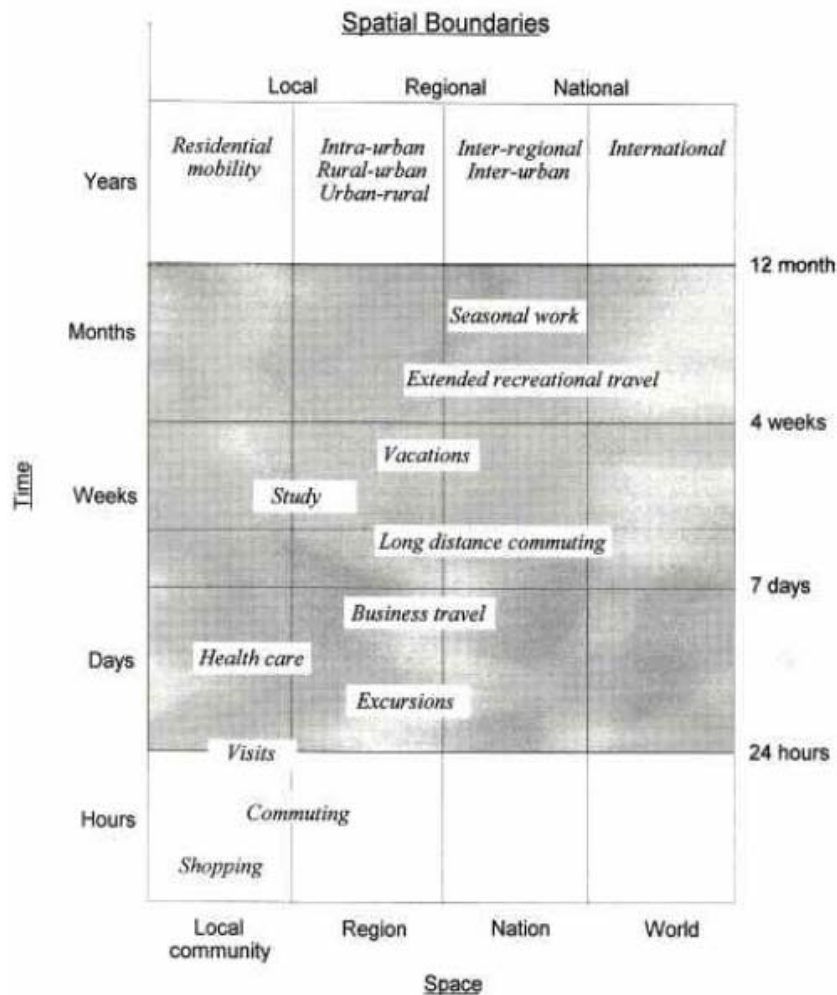


Figure 1. Population mobility in space and time

Classifying mobility

Circular mobility, like permanent migration, invites a variety of perspectives. Structural, sociological, economic and behavioural approaches all have the potential to offer useful insights (Zelinsky 1983). McHugh *et al.* (1995) have recently sought to fill the current theoretical void with a life course perspective which traces the development of recurrent mobility and multi-locale relationships from childhood through old age. This ethnographic approach, which also formed the foundation for research on circular mobility in developing countries (Chapman and Prothero 1983), provides striking cameo examples and archetype trajectories that reveal the complexity of mobility decisions and underline the importance of local contingency (see, for example, McHugh and Mings 1996). What is needed to complement this perspective is a framework which exposes the overall structure and dimensions of circular mobility, and within which this richness of case study material can be situated.

One useful distinction, commonly applied to permanent migration but equally applicable to temporary mobility (Roseman 1992), is between production-related moves, which occur for the purpose of making some form of economic contribution at the destination, and consumption-related moves which are

triggered by the need to access some form of amenity, good or service. The distinction is inevitably fuzzy at the margins because production-orientated moves generally result in some form of consumption and most mobility involves multiple objectives, but the principal purpose of the move is generally unambiguous.

Table 2 employs this classification to provide a typology of temporary and permanent moves and, following Smith's (1989) rationale, further distinguishes among the former between diurnal trips and those that involve at least one overnight stay. In the permanent migration category, the classical distinction is between labour migration and local housing adjustment, the former driven by employment motives, the latter by the need to fit housing circumstances to changing needs. Long distance moves have traditionally been seen as employment-led while short distance residential mobility has been viewed in terms of housing consumption. It seems, however, that an increasing proportion of longer distance moves are motivated by the search for social, physical or service amenity and are hence consumption- rather than production-led. At the opposite end of the time scale, the daily journey to work is clearly production-related while other diurnal trips such as shopping, recreation, and travel to school and college fall unequivocally under the banner of consumption.

Circulatory moves involving one or more nights away from home reflect a more diverse array of objectives. In the production-related category we identify three types of movement, distinguished primarily in terms of the regularity and duration of the trips. At one end of the spectrum are business people whose work requires periodic travel for meetings with clients, suppliers or colleagues. Most visible here, perhaps, are the growing number of professionals and executives on early inter-city flights and trains but this group also includes a diverse array of other occupations such as travelling salespeople, and construction workers whose employment follows shifting worksites which take them temporarily away from home. Long-distance commuters are distinguished by a more regular cycle of moves between home and work, ranging from weekly commuting which involves spending Monday to Friday at the workplace followed by weekend returns to home, to the more extended schedules characteristic of offshore oil and gas fields and the remote mining industry. At the other end of the spectrum are the seasonal workers described earlier whose employment necessitates more elaborate circuits.

Table 2. A typology of permanent and temporary moves

<i>Duration of trip</i>	<i>Reason for move</i>	
	<i>Production-related</i>	<i>Consumption-related</i>
Permanent relocation	Labour migration	Housing adjustment Amenity-led migration
Temporary At least one overnight stay	Business travel Long-distance commuting Seasonal work	Family visits Excursions Vacations Seasonal migration Extended recreational travel Conferences and conventions Study and residential courses Hospitalization Incarceration
Diurnal move	Commuting	Shopping Recreation

In the consumption-related category one major class comprises moves for pleasure. These range from short visits to friends and relatives through weekend excursions and annual holidays to seasonal migration and extended recreational travel. But absences from home may also be made to consume more specific services, such as education and health care. Seminars, conferences and conventions of two or three days duration merge into residential courses or extended programmes of study that may involve several weeks away from home. These moves are generally elective but absences from home may also be involuntary – as in the case of hospitalization or incarceration (at the Governor's or Her Majesty's pleasure!). As in the case of production-driven moves, trips motivated by consumption are differentiated primarily in terms of their frequency and duration but pleasure-related moves also display a strong seasonal component.

Quantifying temporary mobility

One simple explanation for the fragmentation of research on circular mobility lies in the absence of any single, comprehensive source of data that captures the three distinctive features of such moves: their frequency, duration

and seasonality. Allied to this is a dearth of appropriate tools and techniques with which to analyse and summarize these dimensions. This is not to deny the attention that has been accorded to the issue. Early research on circulation in Africa and the Pacific delivered a number of summary indices which variously measure the stability, intensity and velocity of circular movements (see Taylor 1986 for a concise review) and the tourism literature employs other simple measures such as the number of bed-nights and occupancy rates in commercial accommodation. In the population literature more recent work has been aligned to the microtheoretic tradition, focusing on the sequencing of individual moves using elaborate graph-theoretic techniques and space-time lifelines (Parkes and Thrift 1980; Chapman 1985) and Taylor (1986) proposed a method to quantify these movement sequences. To date, however, little attention has been given to measures which encapsulate the various dimensions of temporary movement using aggregate data.

While the development of suitable datasets and techniques of analysis remains an inescapable challenge, one source of data, rarely exploited, which provides a partial window on temporary mobility is the Census. Although Census data are conventionally used to study permanent migration, in countries which conduct their Census on a *de facto* basis, comparison of place of enumeration with place of usual residence provides a unique snapshot of people away from home on the night of the Census. Gober and Mings (1984) examined data of this type from the 1980 Census of the United States but the scope of the available information was con-fined solely to households consisting entirely of non-permanent residents. Data from the Australian Census offer a far richer resource, with three key advantages over their US equivalent: first, information is available for the whole of the population enumerated away from home including people counted in non-private dwellings such as hotels and those staying temporarily in another's household; second, with a total of 46 multi-part Census questions, it is possible to establish a detailed profile of the characteristics of these temporary migrants; and third, the data on place of enumeration and place of usual residence are coded to more than 1300 local areas which provides for a detailed matrix of origin-destination flows.

Despite these advantages, Census data are by no means the ideal tool for analysis of circulatory movements. The Australian Census collects no data on the duration, frequency or reasons for absences from home. It is deliberately scheduled for a weeknight in mid-Winter to minimize the likelihood of such absences and the picture that emerges is unlikely to be representative of other times of year. Moreover, certain groups of temporary migrants, such as students boarding at schools and colleges, are explicitly excluded from the count of temporary migrants by instructions on the Census form that they should regard their school or college, rather than their home, as their usual address.

Despite these manifest deficiencies, the Census can provide useful insights into several key aspects of temporary population movement. In particular, it offers a basis on which to directly address three of the five traditional questions of mobility research, namely 'Who moves?', 'Where do they move?' and 'How much do they move?', and hence to provide at least partial answers to the remaining two: 'Why do they move?' and 'What are the implications?'. Because data on permanent migration are available from the same source, it also provides a reliable basis for comparing the two forms of mobility. The following sections provide a brief summary of insights derived from analysis of the Australian data. The analyses are reported in more detail by Bell and Ward (1998a, 1999a, and in press).

Evidence from the Australian Census

Movement intensities

While the Census provides no more than a simple count of the number of people enumerated away from their usual place of residence, the numbers involved are nevertheless surprising. At the 1996 Australian Census some 835 000 people, 4.7% of the resident population, were away from home. Australians display among the highest rates of permanent mobility in the world (Long 1991) and the intensity of temporary movement, measured in this way, is significantly lower than the 18% who change residence each year (Bell and Stratton 1998). However, while permanent mobility rates have remained remarkably stable over the past two decades, the Census points to a meteoric rise in temporary mobility. The number of people counted away from home has almost doubled since 1976, despite a shift in the date of the Census (from 30 June to 6 August) to avoid coincidence with school holidays and hence minimize such absences.

Mover characteristics

Mobility is a highly selective process and one of the key determinants of the propensity to move is age. The age profile of permanent migration appears to be remarkably stable across time and space (Rogers

and Castro 1981) and the profile for Australia (Figure 2) exhibits the conventional shape, characterized by a peak among young adults, a rapid decline in the labour force years and among teenagers, and smaller rises among young children (moving with their parents) and at extreme age. The profile of temporary migrants presents a striking contrast. Young adults again display the highest movement intensities but major differences are apparent elsewhere. First, while both forms of movement decline sharply after the early twenties, temporary movement rises again to a secondary peak at around age 65. Second is the much stronger predominance of males among temporary movers, especially at ages 20–50. A third point of difference is that while the young adult peak occurs at roughly the same age, the sex differential which occurs prior to the permanent peak is missing in the temporary movement profile. Fourth, is the pronounced ‘double gender crossover’ among older temporary movers.

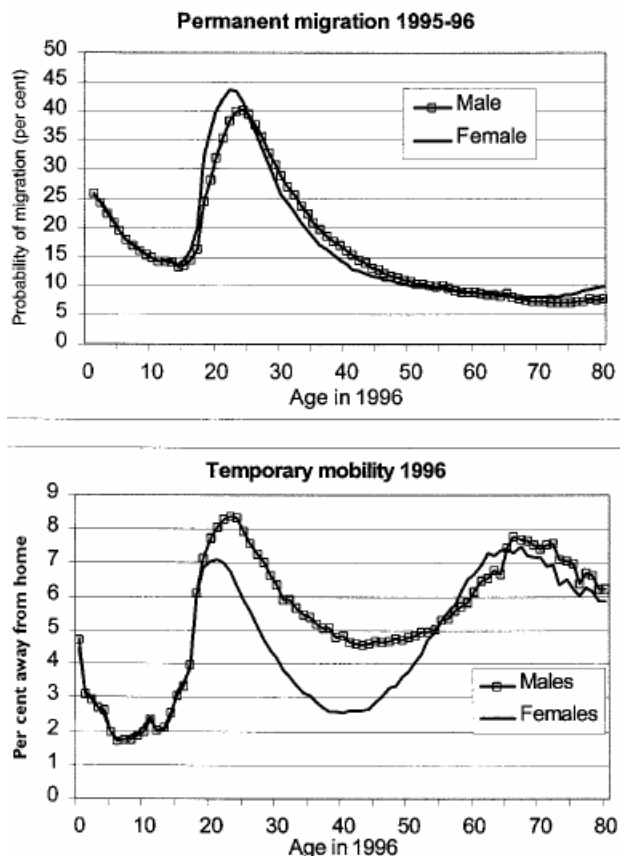


Figure 2. Age-sex profiles of permanent migration 1995–6 and temporary mobility 1996, Australia. (Source: calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996 Census unpublished data).

These variations can be traced to underlying differences in the factors which trigger the two forms of movement. Permanent migration generally represents a response to events in the life course, such as marriage, family formation and dissolution, changes in employment, retirement and the onset of disability. Thus, the permanent profile for females peaks at a younger age than for males because men marry women younger than themselves. In contrast, temporary moves reflect the contemporary circumstances, or intrinsic ‘state’, of the mover, rather than being a product of the transition between ‘states’, or stages of the life cycle.

The ‘states’ which give rise to the distinctive profile of temporary movement can be readily interpreted within the production/consumption framework proposed earlier. High temporary mobility among young adults may be partly associated with the pursuit of education and periods of independent living away from the parental home, but it also reflects the peripatetic wanderings of youth. In the key labour force years, however, temporary moves are more likely job-related, involving business travel, long-distance commuting, and the need to access shifting worksites. The dominance of males among this group mirrors their continuing over-representation in business, the professions, mining and construction. In contrast the massive bulge in temporary movements around retirement points to the importance of freedom from work commitments and child-rearing responsibilities in facilitating long-distance travel. Indeed, the volume of movement reflected here perhaps explains why the retirement peak commonly anticipated in the age profile of permanent migration is so rarely found. As Pollard

(1996) suggests, seasonal moves may act as a substitute for, rather than as a precursor to, permanent migration. Displacement of the male and female profiles here, like that found among young adults moving permanently, indicates that most such moves involve couples. At older ages, on the other hand, mobility tends to be a product of necessity rather than choice (Rowland 1996) and temporary moves beyond age 70 are more likely triggered by the need to access health care rather than in the pursuit of pleasure.

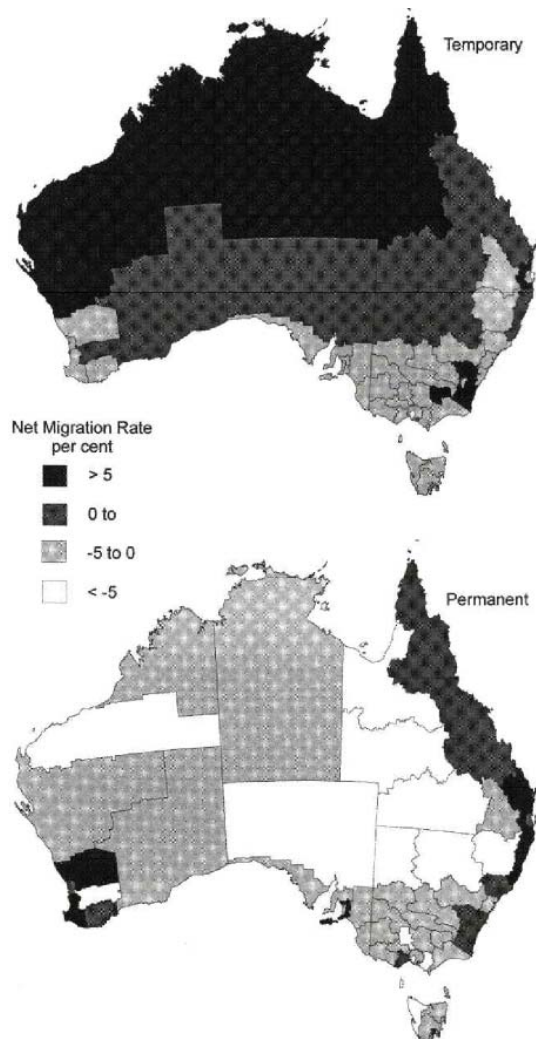


Figure 3. Net temporary (1996) and permanent (1991–6) migration rates, statistical divisions of Australia. (Source: calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996 Census, unpublished data).

Patterns of movement

It is an axiom of migration studies that most people move short distances. Permanent migration exhibits a strong distance–decay relationship whereby the probability of movement declines sharply with increasing distance. Temporary moves follow no such rule. Estimates based on origin–destination flows between 686 regions of Australia indicate that a median migration distance of just 16.2 km for permanent migrants, compared with 167.8 km for temporary movers. Two-thirds of 1991–6 permanent migrations were over distances of less than 50 km and only 13% involved moves of 500 km or more. This compares with figures of 36% and 33% respectively for people temporarily away from home on the night of the 1996 Census. The dearth of short distance temporary moves is not entirely surprising: there is little need to purchase commercial accommodation close to home. More striking, however, is a marked variation in the spatial patterns of the two forms of movement.

Internal migration in Australia over the past two decades has been characterized by four key processes: an accelerating northwards drift from the rustbelt states of the south-east to the sunbelt of the north and west; persistent out-migration from the interior to the major cities; a compensating counterurban movement from the cities themselves to adjacent peri-urban regions and the coast; and within cities, radial outwards migration from

the inner and middle suburbs to the metropolitan fringe (Bell 1995). The net result has been rapid population growth in near-city and attractive coastal destinations, especially on the eastern seaboard of Australia, and out-migration from inland regions, often leading to absolute population decline (Figure 3).

The map of population redistribution through temporary movement displays some parallels but there are also striking differences. Coastal areas are a prime destination for temporary movers as well as for permanent migrants. Similarly, there were losses of both groups from the more closely settled farming regions of south-eastern and Western Australia. The remote interior, on the other hand, lost permanent migrants but registered substantial gains from temporary movement, while in peri-urban areas the pattern was reversed. Contrasts are found, too, within the major cities (Figure 4), with temporary net gains in the city centres but losses from the suburbs, presenting a mirror image of that found for permanent movement.

These overlapping patterns reflect the twin processes of **complementarity** and **substitution** between permanent and temporary population movements. Permanent migration gains in coastal regions are the product of counterurbanization, much of which is amenity-led. These regions are also prime destinations for a wide range of consumption-orientated temporary migration flows, including seasonal migration, holiday travel and weekend excursions. The spatial confluence of these moves reflects a strong functional nexus with short and long stay visitors generating the demand for services which, in turn, creates the employment opportunities that attract permanent migrants. Temporary and permanent flows to these areas are thus driven by similar motives and act in a complementary fashion, generating a 'virtuous circle' of cumulative growth.

In parts of inland Australia, on the other hand, temporary moves represent a substitute for permanent migration. Migration losses from the interior reflect a long-standing deficit between job opportunities and population growth, exacerbated by successive rural crises, the decline of older industrial towns, and the withdrawal of public and private services under the guise of economic rationalism (Bell 1995). Temporary gains reflect a wider range of activities including tourism and seasonal work but one important component is the growth of long distance commuting as a substitute for the establishment of permanent mining settlements (Houghton 1993). An example is found in the Pilbara mining region in Western Australia's far north-west, which services the oil and gas fields of the North-West Shelf. On the night of the 1996 Census the region housed some 2100 temporary workers, three-quarters of whom identified Perth, 2000 km to the south, as their place of usual residence.

Underpinning these regional variations is a profound functional differentiation in the space-economy and this is repeated in microcosm within the cities. While suburban Australia is dominated by housing, the inner cities house a diverse range of functions and it is these activities that represent the magnet to temporary migration. Thus, temporary gains in inner areas reflect a mix of consumption-related moves for purposes such as tourism, education and health care, and those which are orientated to production, such as business travel. This, in turn, reflects the long-term transformation in the role of the inner cities which began as places to live, became places to work, and are now primarily places to visit (Martinotti 1996).

Segmenting temporary movers

Without direct information on the reasons people move it is difficult to gauge with any precision the relative significance of production- and consumption-related moves. As we have shown elsewhere, however, it is possible to derive a crude, first appraisal by judicious combination of seven key variables available in the Census: age, dwelling of enumeration, labour force status, method of travel to work, occupation, industry and educational participation (Bell and Ward 1998c and in press). The results, summarized in Table 3, suggest that about seven out of ten temporary moves are consumption-related while three out of ten are made for the purposes of production. Consumption moves are clearly dominated by pleasure. These accounted for more than half of all absences from home and most took the form of visits to friends and relatives, or holiday stays in second homes or holiday units. Only one-fifth of all pleasure-related trips (11% of the total) involved stays in commercial accommodation such as hotels. Other consumption-related motives for travel such as education (6%) and health care (7%) were less significant.

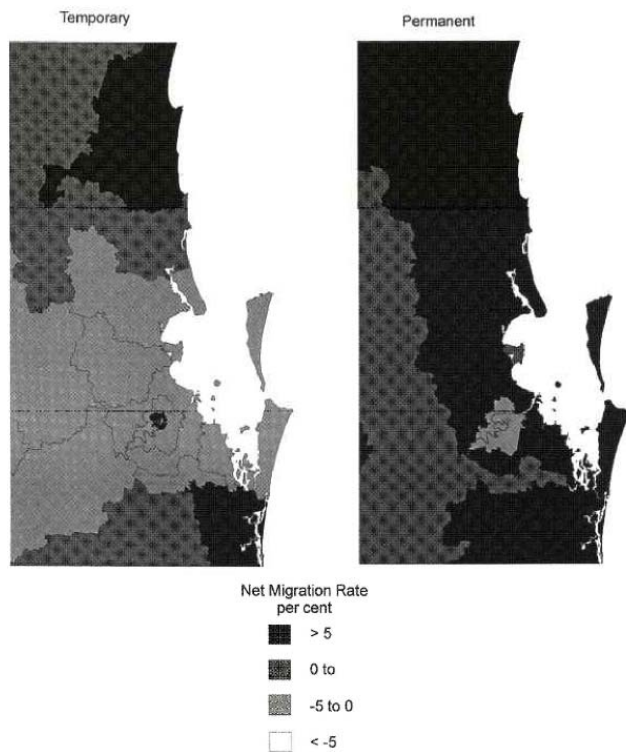


Figure 4. Net temporary (1996) and permanent (1991–6) migration rates, regions of southeast Queensland. (Source: calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996 Census unpublished data).

Table 3. Temporary moves by reason for move

Reason for move	Number	Per cent
Consumption		
Holidays in hotels, etc	93200	11.2
Holidays in independent dwellings	158600	19.0
Visits to friends and relatives	202200	24.2
Education	48200	5.8
Health care	58700	7.0
Other consumption	26 100	3.1
Total consumption	587000	70.3
Production		
Agriculture	14000	1.7
Mining	9 300	1.1
Defence and other government personnel	20 100	2.4
Managers and professionals	75 500	9.0
Transport and construction	39 300	4.7
Trades and labourers	419 00	5.0
Other production	48 400	5.8
Total production	248 500	29.7
Total temporary migrants	835500	100.0

Source: Modified after Bell and Ward (in press)

Production-related moves are more difficult to segment because the types listed in Table 2 are differentiated primarily by their frequency and duration, neither of which are identified in the Census. However, cross-classifying occupation by industry reveals the diversity of this group. Surprisingly, perhaps, the more colourful occupations such as seasonal work in agriculture and long-distance commuting in the mining industry account for a very small proportion (less than 3%) of all temporary movers. Far more significant, numerically, are groups such as managers and professionals, defence and other government personnel, but production-related temporary moves are by no means confined to 'white-collar' occupations. Transport, construction, trades-people and labourers are also strongly represented.

Conclusions

The estimates assembled here represent no more than a crude first endeavour to situate tourism within the context of other forms of temporary mobility and to gauge its relative significance. The Census is by no means an ideal tool for such analysis, but it does have the singular benefit of providing a comprehensive, national perspective that captures all types of population movement, including permanent migration, on a consistent basis. Comparison of these two forms of mobility not only assists in elucidating functional linkages, but also invites application to temporary movement the types of questions and measures developed in analysis of permanent migration.

From the empirical analysis of Australian data summarized here, there is evidence of both similarities and differences between the two forms of mobility, not only in the composition of the flows, but also in the resulting patterns of population redistribution. We have argued that both forms of movement can be interpreted within a production-consumption frame-work, but that each performs a distinctive role in providing access to particular types of location-specific resources. At the same time, the results also reveal crucial functional linkages. In some areas temporary and permanent mobility act in a complementary, symbiotic relationship while in others the former has come to substitute for the latter; but temporary moves may also act as a precursor to permanent relocation. Ultimately, then, the two forms of movement are inextricably related.

At the individual level these connections between temporary and permanent movement are played out over both space and time. Hooimeijer and van der Knaap (1994) succinctly describe mobility as a 'means to combine goals in space' and argue that individuals combine different forms of mobility to optimize access to their network of activities in various life domains: work, leisure, health, education, family, etc. Any disequilibrium, triggered endogenously by altered circumstances or aspirations, or by exogenous contextual forces, may lead to a shift in spatial behaviour and it is these changes that combine over time to mould the life course trajectories exemplified by McHugh *et al.* (1995).

The conventional practice of differentiating between permanent and temporary moves is no more than an artefact of statistical convenience. The distinction is hazy at the margins and becoming increasingly blurred as a result of accelerating social, economic and technological change.

Despite this, it is clear that 'non-permanent' forms of movement do have a number of distinctive dimensions and if progress is to be made in understanding the phenomenon at the aggregate, as well as at the individual, level, considerable work remains to be done. Attention is needed both to establishing appropriate sources of data, to developing suitable methods of analysis, and to theorization. As Massey (1990) has stressed in the context of permanent migration, however, if the existing fragmentation of research is to be overcome, what is further required is a holistic view of the mobility process which encompasses both production- and consumption-related motives, locates individual behaviour within the wider family, household and social milieu, and recognizes the spatiotemporal links between all forms of human population movement.

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